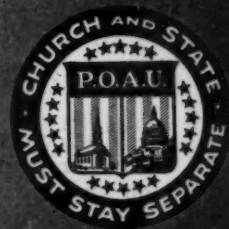


CHURCH AND STATE

A MONTHLY REVIEW



VOL. 10 NO. 10

NOVEMBER 1957

'Appease Thy Neighbor' Theme Chanted By Ex-Newspaperman and NCWC Chorus

More than twenty years ago the Hispano-American Conference of Journalists, meeting in Valparaiso, Chile, unanimously adopted a forthright resolution which declared:

"South American governments are correct in their complaints that they are often misrepresented abroad. . . . But the fault of this misrepresentation lies with the governments which are trying to deceive, not with the correspondents who are trying to tell the truth."

Pointing to the "futility of censorship," which resourceful newspapermen had always managed to violate or evade, the Conference went on to "recommend to the governments of all the Americas that they consider the opportunity of abolishing censorship to the end that they may enjoy the helpful cooperation of the press in creating good will, understanding and mutual respect among the countries of this continent."

This blunt retort to breast-beating dictators and their despotic governments had been drafted by *New York Times* Latin-American Correspondent John W. White, and his colleagues adopted the resolution on January 9, 1937. Unfortunately, White has come a long way in the two decades since that day when he championed freedom—at least, the freedom of newspapermen—against tyranny. Today, he lives in retirement in Washington, D. C., and, far from championing freedom against tyranny, allows himself to be used by Roman Catholic apologists defending religious tyranny in certain South American countries.

Parallel Resolution

In the light of the actual situation today, ex-correspondent White might very appropriately draft a new resolution paralleling his 1937 declaration, which would read like this:

"South American Roman Catholic officials are correct in their complaints that the presence of Protestant missionaries in their countries gives rise to public disturbances. . . . But the fault of these disturbances lies with the Established Church which persistently seeks to maintain its govern-

ment-guaranteed monopoly position by severely restricting or altogether suppressing other faiths." Such a resolution, like White's 1937 draft, would point out the futility of this effort to keep the human soul in subjection, and might then proceed to recommend to "the Roman Catholic Church in all the Americas that it consider the opportunity of abandoning church-state union to the end that it may enjoy the helpful cooperation

(Continued on page 4)

'POLITICAL' OR 'RELIGIOUS'?



EVANGELICAL CONFEDERATION OF COLOMBIA

The sign carried by the demonstrators in the picture above—taken in Bogota, Colombia, in 1951—says (in Spanish):

"Colombia is Catholic
the protestants
Wish to rob us of
the true faith."

After the photograph was taken the mob rioted and partially destroyed the city's Baptist church. Roman Catholic apologists continue to describe such persecution as "political," asserting that the incidents would not occur if Protestant missionaries would stay out of "politics"!

• Editorial •

The Morning After

There are those who think they serve brotherhood by keeping silent on vital issues. This is, indeed, the philosophy of a large and prosperous nation-wide organization whose stock-in-trade is "brotherhood." Its leaders operate on two basic principles: (1) Brotherhood exists in a community where there are no vocal differences. (2) It is better to surrender to aggressive predatoriness than to risk "bad feeling" by opposing it.

We disagree totally. We do not believe that brotherhood can be equated with silence about differences which actually exist. We believe that brotherhood exists in the midst of difference and is wrought out in good-willed controversy. We know of communities where there is no controversy but there ought to be! Threats of reprisal or boycott have imposed a brooding silence. This silence is not brotherhood. This silence is not that of mutual confidence. It is a silence that is sullen and ominous. It is the lull before the storm.

Safety Valve

One of the purposes of keeping open the avenues of public controversy is to provide a kind of safety valve against violence. People who can express themselves freely are less prone to the frustration that seeks release in dynamite and mobs. To draw a circle—or rather, to build a high wall—around some forbidden area of our culture, and to exempt it from the give and take of public controversy, is to render it no service. To change the figure, if we deprive any such area of the ready lancet of public analysis, a festering boil may develop. No institution, no group, no proposal can be sacrosanct. For safety's sake, as well as for democracy's sake, all must be answerable to the challenge of free and open discussion.

In a certain community a man was busy contacting the press. He urged its leaders to suppress any mention of a "controversial" figure who was soon to speak in that community. He thought he was helping to "keep peace"; he thought he was serving brotherhood. He wasn't. For the speaker was coming to urge that the community face *now* certain issues that *before long it would have to face*. He had come to urge that the commu-

nity recognize and meet in an irenic spirit certain issues before they would erupt in flaming bitterness. *This* was the man who was promoting brotherhood in that community—not the other. For the speaker understood that brotherhood is possible only as differences are frankly faced.

Indolent Silence

Do you know what we fear most about Protestant-Catholic tensions? What we fear most is that these tensions will not be recognized for what they are until it is too late. What we fear is that men and groups like these mentioned will be able in the name of "brotherhood" to impose a pall of indolent silence in the face of one aggressive encroachment after another. Then one day, after the damage has been done—there will be a time of rude awakening. It is this that we fear most. We may well fear it, for it would be terrible to behold.

The average Protestant—indeed, the average American of no particular faith—is apt to be a pretty tolerant and easy-going fellow. He wants to live and let live. It doesn't occur to him that anyone would want to impose upon his religious freedom. When he is told that such is the case he can hardly bring himself to believe it. He doesn't want to bother anybody and he can't imagine that anybody would want to bother him. Do not underestimate this average American, however. Watch out for him! He can get mad! and when he gets mad the spectacle is not pleasant.

What we fear is the morning after. Make no mistake: the issue as to whether tax funds are to be used to finance a church is far too big an issue to be settled in silence. Those who think they can slip up on the blind side of the public and put this over without much attention or discussion, are only kidding themselves. This is an issue that is going to be squarely faced. The only question is—how and when? Are we going to give it the old hush-hush, telling everyone not to look now and it will all go away? Or are we going to face it with the candor and good-humor that have always characterized the American people at their best?

Of this we are convinced—the old hush-hush won't work. To be sure, it may help in putting over the church subsidy, but it is building to an inevitable day of wrath and reckoning. If the church subsidy goes through without the full knowledge and consent of the American people, there is

going to be a grim "morning after." We fear that more than we fear controversy.

Oklahoma City Talk To Be Published

Executive Director Glenn L. Archer's September 19 address, *The Free Pulpit Through the Ages*—delivered before 6,000 persons at the First National Conference of Southern Baptist Men in Oklahoma City—will be made available shortly in pamphlet form. Archer also appeared at a breakfast of Oklahoma City businessmen and city officials and at another gathering of 1,000 businessmen in Guthrie, Okla. He then proceeded to Little Rock, Ark., where he was enthusiastically received at a meeting called by The Rev. W. O. Vaught, Jr., in Immanuel Baptist Church.

Earlier—on September 12—Archer and Organization Director John C. Mayne spoke at the greatest POAU rally ever held in Buffalo, N.Y., at the Delaware Avenue Baptist Church. The Rev. Robert Zearfoss was host pastor. (The late Dr. Earle Adams of the National Council of Churches was a former pastor of the church.) Valuable aid was rendered by The Rev. Wallace E. Easter, chapter president, and Mrs. Shirley Anne Colin, secretary. A public panel discussion was held the next morning, in which a newspaper editor of Roman Catholic persuasion also participated.

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CHURCH AND STATE

NEWS From Far and Near

◆ The Whitesboro (N. Y.) Central School Board, by persisting in unconstitutional use of public school buildings for released-time religious classes, may incur loss of state funds for the district. Although John P. Jehu of the State Education Department's law division had upheld two local residents who objected to the practice, the 4-member Whitesboro board refused to eliminate it on the ground that a majority in the community are in favor of the program even though conducted on public school premises—as it has been for some ten years.

◆ The St. Raphael Association for the Protection of German Catholic Emigrants has aided more than three million emigrants from that country since the organization of the group in 1871, according to an August 22 Religious News Service dispatch. Last year alone it gave aid to more than 80,000 German emigrants. Most of these came to the United States and Canada.

◆ Arizona's House of Representatives has before it an amendment endorsed by its tax study committee and aimed at tax-dodging property deals offered to church groups by some businessmen. Many church leaders have condemned this business stratagem, which offers churches part of the taxes saved by nominally transferring profitable enterprises to their control. Tax-exemption, said Executive Secretary Charles Crouch of the Arizona Council of Churches, "should apply only to property from which no profit is gained and we are in favor of legislation to stop any misuse of tax privileges."

◆ "Universal patron of the television industry," observed "News-week" on July 22, "is to be St. Claire of Assisi. The Vatican is set to approve the nomination as soon as formal requests come from church and industry in the U. S. and Britain."

◆ In an address before the 14th National Congress of the National Federation of Catholic College Students, Msgr. John Tracy Ellis, professor of church history at Catholic University, complained that Roman Catholics had failed to provide their proportional share of leaders in the national life of the U. S. The trouble is, he said, that Catholic education has been characterized by "a certain failure to stimulate Catholic youth to think for themselves."

◆ Mrs. Margaret Sanger, president of the International Planned Parenthood Federation, was interviewed on the Mike Wallace television program on September 21—but thereby hangs a tale. More than two weeks earlier, Mrs. Sanger had said in Tucson, Ariz., that Wallace had cancelled her scheduled appearance because of pressure from two prominent New York Roman Catholic priests. Wallace denied that there had been any pressure or any cancellation and contended that Mrs. Sanger's appearance had not been definitely scheduled but was still being considered. In the end, Mrs. Sanger's charge had had a basis in fact. The diocesan newspaper, as a prober of forbidden subjects. But a subsequent action of the Roman Catholic Diocese at Albany, N. Y., made it clear that Mrs. Sanger's charge had had a basis in fact. The Diocesan newspaper, "The Evangelist," accused Wallace of "offensive sensationalism" for having interviewed Mrs. Sanger, and called the program a "graphic instance of the need for vigilance and prudent supervision" of television. Readers were urged to protest the Sanger appearance to the Federal Communications Commission, the Philip Morris Company (Wallace's sponsor) and ABC-TV.

◆ **Correction:** The report in this column last March of charges by British Information Director John H. Peck against the Greek Orthodox hierarchy referred erroneously to "Greece" when Cyprus was meant. The acts of religious coercion against Orthodox laymen were alleged to have been committed on the island itself.

Plan to attend POAU's 10th National Conference. See page 8.

Divorce No Problem For Merle Oberon

Divorce is no problem for a Roman Catholic. It is readily obtainable—except in cases where the marriage has been performed by a priest of his own denomination.

Many do not understand that the alleged hostility to divorce in the Roman Church applies only to marriages performed by its own votaries. Other marriages don't count. Many were amazed when Merle Oberon, Hollywood actress, was recently married to Bruno Pagliai, Mexican industrialist, in a highly publicized church ceremony in Rome. Between them the couple accounted for at least five previous marriages. The explanation is simple: none of the other marriages "counted." The reason: they had not been performed by priests of the Roman Church. These marriages could therefore be ignored.

The following question and answer, published in the official organ of the Roman Catholic diocese of Brooklyn, *The Tablet*, June 27, 1957, clarifies the point perfectly:

Q. Can a Catholic man who has been married in a civil ceremony and never by a priest, get a divorce even though they have children? Can this man marry again in the Catholic Church to a Catholic girl?

A. The answer to both questions is yes. Since a Catholic cannot enter into a valid marriage excepting before a priest, this man did not contract a valid marriage in the first instance. Even though there are children of this union, the civil effects of this union can be terminated by a divorce. Just provision, however, would have to be made for the children. Since a Catholic thus divorced is not impeded by a former valid marriage, he may marry a Catholic girl before a priest provided, of course, that there are no other impediments.

+

Book on Intermarriage

One Marriage, Two Faiths, by James H. S. Bossard and Eleanor S. Boll, was published last spring by The Ronald Press Company, New York (180 pp. + vi, \$3.50) and presents a searching analysis of the problems besetting marriages between persons of different faiths. Chapter Five deals with "The Churches and Mixed Marriage," with sub-headings on the position of Judaism, Mohammedanism, early Christianity, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism.

Appeasement Chant

(Continued from page 1)

of other churches in creating good will, understanding and mutual respect among the faiths of this continent."

But it really isn't necessary for ex-correspondent White to go to the trouble of drafting a new resolution. He need only place his endorsement on the statement issued by POAU in 1953 after the President's brother, Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower, had been petitioned by Roman Catholic leaders in Latin American countries he was visiting to use his influence against "propaganda and proselytizing" by Protestant missionaries. Asking, "Can the Churches Be Good Neighbors?" (*Church and State*, October, 1953), POAU pointed out to Dr. Eisenhower that good neighborliness "cannot prevail if public officials anywhere are allowed to restrict the free exercise of religion by any persons or groups, however small in number. The Roman Catholic Church itself maintains missionary enterprises in all parts of the world, and the United States of America has, historically speaking, been one of its chief targets for 'propaganda and proselytizing.' If a system of church-state union had prevailed in the United States . . . Roman Catholic 'proselytizers' would have been excluded, restricted or persecuted over here in the name of national and religious 'unity.' . . . The Roman Catholic Church has rightfully protested whenever governments in non-Catholic lands have restricted its missionary activities. It is too bad that its leadership does not believe in equal rights for other religions."

Whitewash

Instead of thus proclaiming liberty, what does ex-correspondent White do today? He submits to an interview (August, 1957) by Father John E. Kelly, director of the information bureau of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in Washington, which becomes the basis for stories in both secular and church newspapers quoting White as uttering inanities like the following:

"... the religious disabilities suffered by Protestants in these countries are mostly due to the missionaries' illegal and unconstitutional activities."

Of course, back in 1937 when White issued his blast against Latin American censorship, the newspapermen whom he defended were also

accused of "illegal" activities! (He himself had been expelled from Argentina.)

Chorus

The White interview with Father Kelly was arranged after the central committee of the World Council of Churches, meeting in New Haven, Conn., had voted to back "studies . . . of the problem of religious liberty in Roman Catholic countries" (*Church and State*, October). This brought the usual chorus of indignant replies and disclaimers from Roman Catholic officials (e.g., Fr. Kelly, J. J. Gilbert of the NC Washington bureau, Martin J. Work of the National Council of Catholic Men, Miss Margaret Mealey of the National Council of Catholic Women and Auxiliary Bishop Philip M. Hannan of the Washington archdiocese), but White was brought in as a "Protestant newspaperman" willing to back up the clerical party-line.

To lend an air of authority to the retired correspondent's observations, Catholic publicists cited his authorship of the book, *Our Good Neighbor Hurdle*—but the date of publication, 1943, was not mentioned. (White is also the author of *Argentina: The Life Story of the Nation*, published in 1942, and *The Land Columbus Loved: Ciudad Trujillo*, published in 1945 in the Dominican Republic—which is also the land where political enemies of the Trujillo dictatorship have a high incidence of violent deaths or mysterious disappearances.)

Anyone who troubles to read *Our Good Neighbor Hurdle* will find that, though the book blames Protestant missionaries for nearly everything, it presents much evidence of the baneful effects of church-state union on the Established Church itself, and on its own faithful, not to mention the suffering minorities. State control, as White notes, is exercised over the Roman Catholic hierarchy under the system of "patronage" which empowers the government to approve or disapprove of key ecclesiastical appointments. With state and church organically tied together, political dissent and religious dissent are equally crimes and often become indistinguishable from one another. In this sense, one can plausibly accuse Protestants of "political" activities, but if White had made as sound an appraisal of religious oppression as he had of newspaper censorship, he would have placed the blame on the monopoly government and the monopoly church, where it belonged.

Archbishop Blesses Trujillo Despotism

The Dominican Republic, ruled by what is probably the most despotic regime in the world today, was enthusiastically endorsed by Roman Catholic Archbishop Ricardo Pittini of Santo Domingo, in a letter sent on August 30 to Congressman Gardner R. Withrow of Wisconsin. The key to the Archbishop's ardor on Dictator Trujillo's behalf—which he has often expressed before—is to be found in the third paragraph of his letter, in which he observes that "Dominican authorities have given to the Catholic Church resolute protection without, of course, diminishing the constitutional principles of religious liberty which constitutes one of the essential norms of Dominican life." For the rest of it, the Archbishop's letter asserts at great length and with much repetition that the regime is "absolutely anti-communist," and concludes that it compares favorably with "the more liberal governments of Latin America, except that laws in the Dominican Republic are strictly obeyed and public order reaches a higher level of solidity than in any other Latin American country in the hemisphere." (See, also, "Church and State," July, 1956.)

On one point, both sides in this controversy are agreed. The Most Rev. Philip M. Hannan, after returning from a South American trip, said in Washington on August 27: "For every American hurt in the political [sic] war at least 40 Colombian people have been killed or hurt." Clyde W. Taylor, secretary of public affairs for the National Association of Evangelicals and a POAU board member, promptly replied with a detailed and effective statement showing the primarily religious motive for the persecutions, but also observing: "Incidents of violence to American missionaries have been relatively few in comparison to the number of Colombian nationals who have been subjected to violence because of their connection with an evangelical congregation."

It is clear, then, that there has been violence against minorities. The photograph accompanying this story—showing Catholic demonstrators preparing to assault the Baptist Church of Bogota for wishing "to rob us of the true Faith," as the picket sign says—depicts a commonplace occurrence in South America. Bishop Hannan, John W. White and other apologists describe such demonstrations as "political." Do they think that by playing with words they can change facts?

Colombia Lifts Curbs Which 'Weren't There'

*The other day, upon the stair,
I saw a man who wasn't there.*

*He wasn't there again today.
Gosh, I wish he'd go away!*

That "man" whose existence Colombia has always denied—the one who persecutes minority religions—became the subject of an order from the Minister of the Interior at Bogota on September 17. Thus, by implication, the Persecutor's existence was officially recognized.

According to the United Press, "Interior Minister José Maria Villareal instructed state governors . . . to extend full freedom of assembly and worship to Protestant sects throughout Colombia.

"Señor Villareal also directed the governors to facilitate the functioning of approximately fifty Protestant churches that had become inactive or were hindered by local difficulties in various parts of the country.

U. S. Ambassador

"The minister's action came within twenty-four hours after John Moors Cabot, United States Ambassador, called on Foreign Minister Carlos Sanz de Santamaría to request that Protestant sects be permitted to function without hindrance in Colombia."

Ironically, the Interior Minister's action came just a week after the director of information of the (U. S.) National Catholic Welfare Conference, The Rev. John E. Kelly, categorically denied as "absolutely false" all charges that Protestants had been persecuted in Colombia. Fr. Kelly made the statement in Bogota after coming to Colombia to "investigate" charges made by the World Council of Churches at its recent meeting in New Haven, Conn. Earlier, the NCWC propagandist had interviewed a retired "Protestant" newspaperman in Washington to bolster his pre-fabricated defense of the Colombian repression—see story in this issue.

Some of the details of anti-Protestant measures in Latin countries—particularly Spain and Colombia—were given to a Baptist World Alliance executive meeting in Hamilton, Ontario, on August 26 by Dr. Theodore Adams of Richmond, Va. Dr. Adams, a POAU national advisory councilman, pointed out among other things that some Roman Catholic governments had made land ownership by Protestant congregations illegal.

Misleading K. of C. Ads Need Answers

Latest stratagem in the Knights of Columbus advertising campaign to get members for the Roman Catholic Church, is a series of ads in small town weeklies across the country. Readers of "Church and State" will recall that in at least one instance these ads contained false information. Many items have been misleading.

POAU would like nothing better than to insert an answering and corrective ad in each one of these papers, but our advertising budget for 1957 has been almost expended. POAU will agree, however, to provide copy for the "answering ad" and undertake to secure insertion in each paper, if the amount to cover the bill will be contributed by a local individual or group. Write POAU about it today.

Catholic Irish Launch Boycott of Protestants

Roman Catholic Eire is frequently pictured as a happy, tolerant land where Protestants, though a small minority, have complete freedom. The Lord Mayor of Dublin, a Jewish gentleman, since defeated for reelection, recently toured the U. S. telling one and all that this was indeed the situation.

It would be pretty hard to convince the small Protestant community in the Irish town of Fethard that there is any truth to this rosy picture. The facts as recorded in *The Tyrone Constitution* (an Eire publication) July 5 and 12, 1957 are these: On April 27 Mrs. Shelia Cloney, wife of a Roman Catholic farmer, left with the couple's two children. A Protestant, Mrs. Cloney had apparently resolved that the children should not be reared in the Roman Catholic faith.

There is no evidence that other Protestants had assisted Mrs. Cloney in any way or even that they sympathized with her. To the contrary, the Bishop of Ossory (Church of Ireland, Protestant) in whose diocese the incident occurred, had publicly deplored the mother's action.

Despite these facts, an organized boycott of the town's Protestants was launched by the Roman Catholic hierarchy. The two Protestant shopkeepers in Fethard have been boycotted. The Roman Catholic teacher of the town's lone Protestant school resigned and the school was closed. Taking it out on the children seemed to be a prime feature of the boycott. When a new teacher, Norman Rudock, arrived to re-open the school

he was threatened with physical harm. Even the Catholic sexton of the town's Protestant Church quit. Mrs. Cloney's two brothers (also Protestants) have received threats to their lives and have had to ask police protection.

Praise From Prelates

S. M. Cloney, husband of the missing woman deplored these fanatical tactics and called for an end of the boycott. He pointed out that their Protestant neighbors had had nothing to do with the matter and were innocent sufferers. For such statements he has been ostracized by his own co-religionists.

The Roman Catholic Bishop of Galway in a sermon preached on June 30 praised the boycott which he described as "a peaceful and moderate protest." The Bishop roundly condemned North Ireland which has refused to unite with Eire and also attacked Paul Blanshard, special counsel of POAU.

Joyfully following his master's lead, Fr. William Stafford, Roman Catholic priest of the Fethard church preached on the boycott at mass. In a burst of fine oratory he said: "The priests have the utmost confidence and conviction that the people will persevere unflinchingly and will not allow anything to happen to mar or besmirch this grand, dignified, noble, loyal, legal profession of their faith."

Cardinal D'Alton and six of the country's bishops were present when Bishop Browne preached a sermon in Wexford on June 30 defending the boycott.

Far different was the reaction of the Church of Ireland (Protestant) Bishop of Kilmore, Dr. C. Tyndall who declared that "the boycott at Fethard had split a tranquil little community wide open and it might take a generation to heal the wounds." But it is more than a local issue; the Fethard boycott has become a matter of nation-wide and world-wide concern. The question was raised in the *Dail* by Dr. Noel Browne (Ind.) who mentioned the "grave and growing disquiet throughout Ireland." Taking sharp issue with the Roman Catholic clergy, the Parliamentary Secretary, speaking for Prime Minister De Valera, said that the boycott was "ill conceived, ill considered and futile. . . ."

There was no indication that Mr. De Valera's statement had produced any immediate effect. As has been said, it would be hard to convince the Protestants of Fethard that Eire is safe for Protestants.

St. Anthony's Church Given Beer License



St. Anthony's

St. Anthony's Roman Catholic Church of Wichita, Kansas, recently had License Collector Frederick Denny scratching his head. The priest in charge had put in for a beer license because he felt that the sale of this beverage in the parish house would pep up the weekly bingo games and also add to the take.

The trouble was that in Wichita there's a law against selling beer within 250 feet of a church or a school. Mr. Denny really sweated over this one. He had been accustomed to having one hassle after another with churches that were opposing licenses within their area. He'd gone out with his measure in hand many a time and that 250-foot rule was vigorously applied.

But this was a new twist. Here was a church not fighting strongly for that last inch of protection from beer, but imploring permission for beer within its grounds and halls. Well, Mr. Denny finally decided it this way—that since there was no church (no other church, that is) within 250 feet of the church applying, there was nothing in the law to forbid granting the license. St. Anthony's has its beer license now.

Come to think about it, the clergy at St. Anthony's might have done even better. After all, why should they have confined their license to beer? Maybe Kansas is one of those states that will prohibit churches, and other establishments from selling hard liquor. But that aside, why shouldn't St. Anthony's have put in for a license

to vend spirituous beverages as well? This would pep up the bingo games even more. But that isn't the big thing. The big thing is that this might open up tremendous retail possibilities in a trade whose wholesale interests are already very well handled by the Christian Brothers, who own and operate some of the country's finest distilleries and wineries for the Roman Catholic Church. The possibilities are staggering.

D. C. Ethical Society

A situation almost the reverse of the one in Wichita has developed in Washington, D. C., where restaurant liquor sales will be permitted near Ethical Society headquarters because the latter has been held to be not a "church" in a legal sense for tax-exemption purposes (*Church and State*, November, 1956). Citing the earlier Tax Court decision, the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board ruled on August 30 that a proposed Connecticut Avenue restaurant near the Society could have a liquor license despite the law prohibiting such establishments within 400 feet of a "church." "Society Isn't Taxproof as Church, So It Will Get 100-Proof Neighbor," read the headline in the next day's *Washington Post and Times-Herald*.

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Religious Census Issue Divides Church Leaders

Perhaps the most widely discussed church-state question of 1957 relates to the proposed religious question in the forthcoming U.S. census. Church leaders themselves have been sharply divided as to whether a question about a citizen's religion should be asked by census takers.

There is actually some precedent for the religious question since the Census Bureau has been previously authorized to take a census of religious bodies. The data in this census are obtained by queries directed to the various denominational headquarters. They have received rather indifferent attention and the data so derived have been of doubtful accuracy and value (*Church and State*, November, 1954).

The Census Bureau decided to stage a trial run on the religious question and selected four counties in the neighborhood of Milwaukee, Wis., for this purpose. The basic question asked was: "What is your religion?" The bureau reports that only 8/10

of one percent refused to answer the question on religion and that some of these refused to answer any questions at all. Noting no significant recalcitrance on the religious question the bureau began to discuss including it in the census.

Objections Roll In

Serious misgivings were soon being expressed. The American Civil Liberties Union, after expressing initial approval, reversed its field and took a strong negative stand. One objection was directed at the compulsion involved in the question. Actually, failure to answer any question in the census is a crime punishable by fine or prison or both. The president of the American Jewish Congress opposed the religious question for the same reason and also because it would make the federal government "an agent of religious groups." *Commonweal*, prominent lay Roman Catholic publication, editorialized against the religious question, though the position of this denomination was generally favorable to it. Christian Scientist leaders sharply protested that basic law of their denomination forbade participation in any such religious census.

Paul Blanshard

Some interesting proposals in regard to the religious question were submitted by Paul Blanshard in a letter published in *The New York Times* of August 6. The Blanshard letter pointed out certain values in the data which the religious inquiry might be expected to yield—values of a sociological nature quite apart from any religious significance. He then made two suggestions designed to make the religious question palatable to church leaders.

The question as presently phrased is wrong, Blanshard contends. It should be changed to something like: "Do you belong to a church, and if so which one?" Second, the element of compulsion should be eliminated by making the reply to the religious question optional. Such an amendment to the present law could be passed promptly when Congress reconvenes.

The Blanshard proposals have stirred wide comment among church leaders. The idea of making the reply voluntary has been attacked as rendering the data incomplete and therefore of little value. A POAU poll of Protestant leaders in the District of Columbia area indicated that a slight majority are opposed to any religious question however phrased.

Pawtucket School Strike Laid to Official Neglect

Not entirely overshadowed by the school crises in Arkansas and other southern states was the disastrous strike of 400 public school teachers in Pawtucket, R. I. More than 10,000 pupils missed nine days of schooling when an impasse on teacher salaries was reached between the Pawtucket Teachers' Alliance and the city council, which holds the purse strings of the schools. As a result, a strike was called and the teachers refused to enter the classrooms on September 4. No agreement has since been reached, but Judge G. Frederick Frost signed a temporary injunction against the work stoppage on September 14, thus formally ending the strike.

What lies back of the Pawtucket school strike? There are many facets of the problem but in and over them all there lies the shadow of incredible and disastrous neglect. Two thoughtful articles on the Pawtucket school troubles, written well in advance of the strike by John Becker of the *Worcester Telegram*, should be read by persons interested in the Pawtucket situation. The basis of the trouble apparently lies in the fact that a tight political clique in City Hall has had total control of the community's public schools. This clique, most unfortunately, had no interest whatever in the schools and for more than thirty years pursued a policy which systematically curbed and starved them.

A Harvard study group has published findings which indicate that between 1918 and 1948 the city built only one elementary school while the population was increasing from 60,000 to 80,000. No major repair work was undertaken during a 35-year period. Some of the school buildings in existence had been poorly constructed and, being unsafe, had to be practically rebuilt.

Nothing was done for the teachers; for twenty years their salaries ranged from a minimum of \$900 to a maximum of \$2350. These were the salaries as they stood in 1948. Nothing was done to prepare for the crop of "war babies" in the schools. The Harvard committee found the number of schools hopelessly inadequate, but even worse, it had to recommend that 14 of the schools in operation should be condemned and closed and that all pupils in the remaining buildings be put on double session. This recommendation has been, for the most part,

followed by the city. The Harvard study gave no figures or facts as to the development of parochial schools in Pawtucket, but the consensus was that it had been steady and of considerable dimensions.

Some small beginnings have been made, however. Since 1954 bonds totalling \$950,000 have been floated and another \$500,000 is on the ballot in November. Observers were divided as to the prospects of the latter.

If there is any moral in the Pawtucket story it is this: the public schools should never be permitted to come under the control of officials who have no real interest in them and are quite willing to see them short-changed and depreciated.

Presbyterian Guide Backs Public School

Instead of blaming the public schools for the crime wave and damning them as "godless," the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. has decided to do something to help and encourage them. A study guide has been published by the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education which has the purpose of stimulating helpful relations between church members and the public schools. The guide will be used among many adult groups of the Presbyterian Church.

The new educational emphasis of this denomination was inspired by the report of the Board of Education to the 169th General Assembly meeting in Omaha last May. The report, entitled *The Church and the Public Schools*, was a ringing defense of public education in the United States. (Copies are available at 15c from Presbyterian Distribution Service, 156 Fifth Ave., New York 10.)

The statement declares flatly that Presbyterians have no interest in developing parochial schools because they do not want "to take the step of isolating the child's first years of schooling away from the 'main stream.'" It points out that "general superiority neither in academic achievement nor in ethical behavior has been demonstrated when elementary and secondary students of parochial schools are compared with students of the public schools. . . ."

After repudiating the miserable canard that the public schools are "godless," the report firmly declares: "We are therefore unalterably opposed to the support of independent or parochial schools through the use

of public funds, since such use virtually favors establishment of religion by government . . . we further believe that the seeking for so-called 'indirect' benefits such as bus transportation and free textbooks constitutes another misuse of public funds and is productive of more and wider planning to help finance parochial-school education."

Challenge

The statement, which commits the Presbyterian Church to the support of public education in the United States, concludes with a challenge to the men and women of the Church.

Italian 'John Hancock' Put on Liberty Decree

The President of Italy's Supreme Council of State (highest court) will not hinder implementation of the court's decision last spring (*Church and State*, April) upholding religious freedom provisions of the Constitution as superior to conflicting laws which had restricted Protestant activities. This statement of policy was conveyed to Dr. Frank B. Gigliotti, vice-chairman of the evangelical action commission of the National Association of Evangelicals, by the Italian Ambassador to the United States.

An NAE press release of August 27 explained that the decision "did not go into effect immediately due to lack of signature by the President of the Council. Its enforcement seemed dubious until this firm commitment by the Italian Government was made.

" . . . Representatives of evangelicals in Italy have been making attempts to have the out-dated fascist law finally buried, and to uphold the Constitution and Italy's treaties with the United States."

(Senator Enrico de Nicola, president of the constitutional high court, resigned last March 26, only eight days after its decision holding unconstitutional Article 25 of the Public Security Laws. No official reasons for the resignation were given, but *The New York Times* reported that "he felt the Government had not shown sufficient alacrity in altering Italian legislation to conform with the High Court decisions." But the Italian Ambassador's assurance to Dr. Gigliotti indicates that the decision will be effectuated without Nicola's signature.)

Fordham Subsidy Aired In Heated City Hearing

Before a hostile crowd that filled every nook and cranny of City Hall and spilled out into the corridors, Fr. Laurence J. McGinley, President of Fordham University, presented a lengthy defense of the plan by which, in the name of "slum clearance," the U.S. government and New York City are to provide a handsome new campus for the university in mid-Manhattan at a give-away price. A hearing on the subject was held before the N.Y. City Planning Commission on September 11. It began in the morning and continued till late in the evening. Fr. McGinley's remarks on the distinguished service which the publicly subsidized Jesuit institution would give to the city of New York were well publicized in the press.

One of the speakers preceding Fr. McGinley and appearing in opposition to the proposal was Rev. C. Stanley Lowell, associate director of POAU. Mr. Lowell's presence at the hearing was not even mentioned in *The New York Times* ("All the news that's fit to print") or in any other New York paper, for that matter. A blanket of silence smothered the slightest mention of Mr. Lowell's testimony. The silence was confined to the newspapers, however. The capacity crowd at City Hall applauded and cheered for a full minute at the completion of Mr. Lowell's testimony.

Also speaking in opposition to the Lincoln Square plans was Harris L. Present, counsel for the Lincoln Square Chamber of Commerce, and City Councilman Stanley M. Isaacs, who represents much of the area to be condemned and cleared. Miss Ann Smith of the New York chapter of POAU further questioned the legality



Harris L. Present

and propriety of the arrangement with Fordham.

Speaking not only of Fordham but also of St. Matthew's Roman Catholic Church, which is to receive a new and much enlarged location for its church, school, convent and rectory in the redevelopment, Mr. Lowell said: "Our sole reason for being here is a concern lest public welfare funds be used, directly or indirectly, for sectarian purposes." His statement continued:

We recognize that the subsidy is always a temptation to the church, particularly to churches that have so long enjoyed it in other lands. It does seem to offer relief from the moil of existence. But the relief it offers is a mirage. . . . We believe that the Roman Catholic Church, the same as any other church, should finance its schools, its places of worship, and its other activities not by funds coercively collected from all citizens of all faiths and none, but rather by voluntary gifts donated by its own adherents.

Mr. Lowell challenged the re-sale arrangements which had included Fordham and St. Matthew's Church as beneficiaries without even the shadow of alternative bids. He asked whether any publicly-owned and op-

erated university had been given an opportunity to bid against Fordham.

Exclusion of churches long-established in the area from the re-sale proposals drew some of Mr. Lowell's sharpest fire. He mentioned the Eastern Orthodox Cathedral of Our Saviour and St. Cyprian's as churches of other denominations that were being demolished to provide additional space for the Roman Catholic operations. Quoting Justice Black in the *Everson Bus Case*, Mr. Lowell cited as one of the principles basic to the First Amendment that "neither a state nor the federal government . . . can prefer one religion over another. . . ." Referring to the Cathedral of Our Saviour, Mr. Lowell said: "Its house of worship will be razed and its land disposed of at a give-away price to the Roman Catholic Church. If that is not preferring one church over another, what is it?"

In concluding his testimony Mr. Lowell warned: "Let this distinguished commission take prompt steps to protect the church's best interest. Let it do so by requiring it to pay a fair price for its land purchases, or, better still, by eliminating it altogether from this project."

POAU Board Meeting, 10th Conference Near

Rounding out the first decade of its existence, POAU can now look back tolerantly on the prediction of its early demise which was made by Judge John E. Swift of the Knights of Columbus in 1948. Judge Swift's report of our (impending) death, we are happy to report, was "greatly exaggerated."

On December 3 the Board of Trustees and National Advisory Council will hold their annual meeting at national headquarters in Washington, and a leading topic will be plans for the Tenth National Conference on Church and State, scheduled for February 10-11 at the First Baptist Church in Atlanta, Ga. President Morrison will preside over the board meeting's morning session and Board Chairman Newton over the afternoon session. New officers will be elected and a 10-year review of the organization's work, with reports from department heads, will be presented.

Among the high lights of the Tenth Conference on February 10 and 11 in Atlanta will be a Founders' Ceremony and the presentation of two awards to effective champions of religious liberty for their 1957 endeavors. Organization Director Mayne and Recording Secretary Yost will go to Atlanta early to make preparations. Full details will be announced soon. National leaders from all over the country are expected to attend.

CHURCH AND STATE

Monthly Organ of
Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation
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